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NOTE.—The editor does not hold himself responsible for any statement made in contributed articles.

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DAVID LLOYD.

By Isaac Sharpless.

David Lloyd was born in Montgomeryshire, Wales, in 1656. Thomas Lloyd speaks of him in a letter as "my kinsman," though the relationship was probably not near.

Comparatively little is known of his early history. In some way he secured an accurate and available knowledge of law. His first wife was from Gloucestershire, and it is not improbable that he was educated in England.

In the seething political and religious times of the Commonwealth and later he imbibed the strong republicanism with which his name and talents were afterwards so conspicuously associated. Then he joined the Society of Friends, as many of the Commonwealth sympathizers did, and abjured fighting with material weapons forever. His pugnacity was, however, transferred to another field, and when in 1686 Penn commissioned him as Attorney-General of his new province he little knew what a determined opponent he was sending over the seas. On "the 5th of ye 6th Mo. 1686" he presented his commission to the Council, subscribed to the necessary declarations of fidelity to the King and Governor and entered upon the duties of his office. From this time until his death, in 1731, he was a potent factor, possibly as potent as any, considering permanent results, in the public affairs of the province.[1]

Two months later Patrick Robinson, who appears to have been a testy and obstinate official, was discharged from his position as Clerk of the Provincial Court, and David Lloyd was

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[1] Macaulay in his History makes one David Lloyd an emissary in attempting the restoration of James II in 1690-91. The name was included with that of William Penn and a number of noblemen and gentlemen in a list of supposed conspirators against William and Mary. It is possible that *our* David Lloyd went over from Pennsylvania for this purpose, though it seems improbable. Deborah Logan, however, speaks of him as the same person. She also says that he was Captain in the "Republican Army," presumably that of Cromwell. As he was only two years old when Cromwell died, she was undoubtedly mistaken.

appointed to the place. He was also made clerk or deputy to the Master of the Rolls, Thomas Lloyd.

As Attorney-General there is only one important case with which David Lloyd was associated that has come down to us—the case in which William Bradford, the only printer of Philadelphia, was charged with issuing a seditious libel in connection with the George Keith controversy. Lloyd represented the prosecution, and won. Bradford was fined, but in the easy-going times the fine was never collected. It is important in being the first case where the seditious character of the publication, as well as the fact of printing was submitted to the jury, and was thus important in establishing the freedom of the press.[2]

In the snarl that followed the appointment of Blackwell as Deputy-Governor, he showed the militant disposition which made his life a continual turmoil.

The question came up in a meeting of the Council of a criminal whose case had been adjudged by the court of the county of Sussex, and the judgment reversed by the Provincial Court. The copies of the records of the higher court being conflicting, David Lloyd was asked to produce the original. He refused, saying that the Council had no authority to give such an order. Then, the minutes state, "he was thereupon ordered to withdraw. This was judged a high contempt in the said David Lloyd, and for that and other unseemingly and slighting expressions of his to the Governor and Council," he was discharged from his various positions. Thomas Lloyd then came to his rescue by issuing a commission to him re-appointing him. This Blackwell conceded he had a right to do as his deputy, but not as clerk of the court. Blackwell was probably right, and the Lloyds had to recede from their position. David Lloyd finally gave up the papers in question, and ultimately recovered his standing.

In 1693 he was again brought unfavorably before the Council. One Charles Butler was charged with passing counterfeit coin. The jury found him guilty, and he claimed that David Lloyd added to their verdict that it was misprision of treason,

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[2] See Pennypacker's Colonial Cases.

which would cause a forfeiture of all the prisoner's property. In reply Lloyd claimed that his act was only a legal form. The Council concluded that it was not a proper case for it to decide, but gave an opinion that it did not look right to them to give so severe a penalty for so slight an offense and that there was "a matter of law in it against David Lloyd."

Another instance of a legal character may be cited to illustrate his facility in making enemies by the method of his proceedings. Francis Daniel Pastorius was the agent of the Frankford Company which owned a large amount of land in and around Germantown. He was dismissed from his position without proper compensation for past services. An adventurer now appeared, one Henry Sprogel, whom Pastorius calls "a cunning and fraudulent fellow," who had come over with the claim that he had bought in Germany the rights of several of the owners, and was proceeding to eject the innocent settlers by court decree. In company with a colleague, he retained David Lloyd, and gave to him as a fee 1,000 acres of land to which the title was doubtful. Acting on Lloyd's advice, he also bought up the whole bar of the province, consisting of three other lawyers, and sprung the case upon the court, which decided in his favor without a full hearing of the other side.

The above is Pastorius's account, and in concluding it he gives this verdict:—

"If David Lloyd does justify this barbarous manner of proceeding and spoiling of widows and orphans, it's more than any can do that professes truth, and unless he really repent and endeavors to have restitution made to those who so deeply suffer, he certainly will be accountable for it at the great day of judgment."[3]

In other letters Pastorius is even more severe, referring to him as d-ll. Finally he made his complaint to Philadelphia Monthly Meeting, where David Lloyd was a member. At the same time a request came from Lloyd to transfer his certificate to Chester Monthly Meeting. The double question was considered

[3] See M. D. Learned's Pastorius, p. 154.

from month to month for six months with additions to the membership of the committee. Finally, on 9 month 27th 1713 the meeting minuted " However, it seems to the meeting to be that which is not of good report and therefore desires David Lloyd that he may forbear to have anything further to do towards strengthening the parties concerned therein." With this Scotch verdict the matter was left.

In forming a judgment of David Lloyd from these questions of legal ethics it is fair to bear in mind that he has placed on record no defences of his action. He used the means which as a lawyer were at his command, and which many good lawyers at the present day sanction and adopt. The accounts of the transactions all come from his political and factional opponents. His skill and ability are abundantly manifest by the results, while his methods would doubtless be differently judged were we to hear his own statements. He, apparently, both in meeting his legal and political enemies, had no thought of protecting himself in history. The voluminous writings of Logan and Pastorius bear evidence of the opinion held of him by those whose plans he had opposed. That during all his life time he had an ardent political following, containing many good men, and more often than not defeated the opposition, are facts we know from the public records, but not from his pen.

To the political side of his life we now turn.

It was as a politician rather than as a lawyer that he will ultimately be judged, and here we find most opposite views of his character and influence. With some he is the great champion of democracy and popular rights against the encroachments of the Proprietary and his friends; with others he is simply an artful demagogue, using his great legal training and undoubted abilities to carry out his plans, ofttimes by unscrupulous means, in the midst of a simple and trustful community of country Friends, of whose principles he was, or seemed to be, an ardent exponent. We will try to state the facts fairly before forming a judgment.

After holding various minor offices as clerk of the courts and of the Assembly, and deputy to certain officials, he was in 1693, at the time of the Fletcher régime, when William Penn was

deprived of his government, elected to the Assembly. A year later he was made Speaker. Fletcher was opposed by the whole Quaker body in public life and Lloyd had a united party with him. The Governor was attempting to break down the Penn authority and constitution, and as Friends had refused to sit in his Council, and as this body had the sole power of originating laws, he had at the start things pretty much his own way. But when these laws were presented to the Assembly, without whose sanction they could not be enacted, came Lloyd's chance. Every piece of legislation in conflict with popular rights was held up, and, after the fashion of the English Commons, supplies were denied pending the Governor's surrender. Lloyd was then as always very direct and open in his statements. When on one of the occasions when a committee of the Assembly waited on the Governor to explain their non-passage of the supply bill, and various circumlocutory statements were made, David Lloyd brought the matter to a head by the unmistakable announcement, "To be plain with the Governor here is the Monie Bill, and the House will not pass it until they know what is become of the other bills sent up."

The first contest was over the validity of the charter and laws granted by Penn. Fletcher claimed that they were superseded by his royal commission. After some sparring, the Assembly had to yield. Then an appropriation was asked to defend the frontier of New York against the French, with whom England was at war. This demand struck at the anti-martial principles of Friends, and was successfully resisted, or rather postponed by the Assembly. The plan of delaying supplies till certain laws were granted was now tried in Pennsylvania, and, as in other colonies and in England, was successful in extorting one popular liberty after another.

Fletcher's rule only lasted about two years, when the government was restored to Penn, who made his cousin Markham his Deputy. Markham tried to live up to the arbitrary standard of Fletcher, but now both Council and Assembly opposed him. Lloyd was now in the former body, but remained the champion of democracy. One privilege after another was gained, giving

the Assembly as well as the Council the right to originate laws, and allowing it to sit on its own adjournments. All and more than Penn had granted was secured. This condition lasted till 1699, when Penn, with his secretary, James Logan, came into the country, and David Lloyd's easy supremacy was over.

For he and Logan became bitter enemies. During Penn's stay of two years this did not much show itself, but he and his friends had so indoctrinated the colony with ideas of freedom that Penn, half reluctantly, was forced to give a new charter, that of 1701, which lasted just seventy-five years, till abrogated in the opening days of the Revolutionary War. This abolished the Council as a part of the law-making power, making it only an advisory body to the Deputy Governor, and granted full powers to the Assembly, with the Governor's assent to pass all laws.

Hitherto Lloyd had seemed to be on good terms with Penn, whose commission he had held. But when the Proprietary sailed for England, leaving Logan his secretary and agent, a controversy, both personal and political, which in time became very bitter, arose between the Welshman and the Irishman. Both had a sort of fearless pugnacity which induced plain speaking without any avoidance of direct issues. Though their state papers are couched in terms of studied courtesy, there was no pains to conceal the differences involved between them.

Each had his party behind him. The most of the best educated city Friends, who were also friends of the Proprietary, were gathered in the ranks with the secretary. The country Friends, the great bulk of the population, concerned for their property and personal rights, followed loyally the skilful and forceful leadership of David Lloyd.

A small third party must not be neglected, the Churchmen, whose leader was Robert Quarry, Judge of the Admiralty, appointed by the Crown and independent of the Penn government. This party was troublesome more because it spread in England reports of inefficiency in the province, due, as it claimed, to Quaker scruples as to war and oaths, than as the result of its direct influence upon popular opinion.

David Lloyd was a strong uncompromising champion of

Friends' views on these subjects and one of his favorite charges against the Penn and Logan party was that relief in these matters was not granted, so that Friends could have their full share in government without any sacrifice of principle.

That Logan did not hold the Friendly attitude as to wars and self-defense is unquestionably true, and became more manifest as he grew older. The Friends that surrounded him, however, did,—some of them quite as strenuously as did the countrymen, and perhaps with a better appreciation of all the factors entering into the matter. Hence on occasions they would vote money "for the Queen's use" on the general plea that the use the Queen made of it, was as Isaac Norris expressed it, "Not our part, but hers."

Lloyd never compromised. When the Assemblies of which he was the Speaker voted money, they made it a condition that "it should not be dipt in blood," and appointed trustees to hold it till they found how it was to be applied. He was willing to carry non-resistance to its fullest conclusion, and abruptly closed the question and adjourned the Assembly when it was found that the Deputy was not inclined to accept the grant on such dubious terms. In this particular he was undoubtedly supported by the great body of Friends in the province.

The close identity of Friends with the government is shown by two addresses passed by the House on the same day (May 25th, 1704,) and both signed by David Lloyd, Speaker. One of these was "The Humble Address of the Freemen of Pennsylvania," congratulating "Our Gracious Queen Anne" on her accession. The other was "The Humble Address of the People called Quakers convened in Assembly," also addressed to "Our Gracious Queen Anne," asking relief in the matter of oaths, which was approved by the Assembly. N. C. D. The Assembly, probably all Friends, adopted by the same vote and placed on its minutes the two addresses, in one case as the *Freemen of Pennsylvania* and the other as the *People called Quakers.*

The severity of this controversy lasted from 1701, when Penn left the province, to 1710, when Lloyd was completely, though temporarily, unhorsed. It was a sad decade for Quaker

government. It is a mistake to assume, however, that the difference was as pervasive in the ranks as it was acrid among the leaders. The Province continued to prosper, immigrants came in, houses were built, farms were laid out and woods cleared, and the foundations of many a fortune and many a happy home were laid. A generation of Quaker politicians was being reared who were learning the meaning of self-government and democracy. History dealing only with men who ruled in Council and Assembly records the serious contests over what seem sometimes small matters, but the great body of Friends attended their quiet meetings in simple harmony and satisfaction with their lot. David Lloyd seems to have expected that a separation in meeting might result from the political conditions, but fortunately his prediction was not fulfilled. James Logan speaks of him as "a discordant in the Friends' meetings for business, so much so he expects a separation and purging; the young push for rash measures, the old for Penn's interests."

One of the questions of the day was the right of the Assembly to come together and adjourn at its pleasure. In view of the history of England under the Stuarts, now not so very far in the background, it is not a matter of wonder that they were sensitive on this point. William Penn had granted in his charter of 1701 the right of the popular house, to be, with the assent of the Governor, the whole legislative body of the Province, to be elected on the 1st of October every year without any call from the Governor and to sit on the 14th following. The only question remaining was as to its right to adjourn to some fixed date within the year of its service.

When in 1702 there was difficulty in forming an Assembly owing to the discordant policies of the Province and Territories (Pennsylvania and Delaware) which had hitherto worked together as one Colony, but were now about separating, it was suggested that the Governor might adjourn this meeting to a future day. Immediately David Lloyd sounded the alarm. Though it was only a preliminary conference, and not an Assembly, the account states; "David Lloyd objected to the word *adjourn* for the Charter empowering them to sit on their own

adjournments, they would betray their trust should they admit of any other adjournment." His keen eye for the establishment of a precedent which would in any degree threaten popular rights seized upon this little point for protest.

The Governor did not yield the matter ostensibly, but the Assembly had the habit of adjourning when it pleased, and nothing could be done, so that in time the policy with which we are so well acquainted in the United States became fully established.

In 1709 Governor Gookin sent word to the Assembly, "I expect the House shall not adjourn any longer than from day to day, till the business further recommended to you this morning shall be issued." Here was a direct challenge, and David Lloyd, then Speaker, accepted it. With an unanimous House behind him, he passed resolutions, announcing that they would *not* attend to the business recommended, and *would* adjourn when it suited them, which, as harvest was approaching, they immediately proceeded to do. It is not giving Lloyd too much credit to say that his influence largely secured to the people of Pennsylvania the invaluable right of an independent legislature.

Penn was a full believer in civil liberty, as the advanced men of the times construed it, but he was an enthusiast for religious liberty and equality among the sects. He placed this principle in the forefront of all his constitutions, and when he gave the final one in 1701 he asked that his people should take the opportunity to propose any provisions which would better secure their rights. The most of them had not, as he had, any broad conception of the value of these intangible matters, but they did want good titles to their property, low taxes, good roads, and all the factors which would lead to permanent material prosperity. He was rather disgusted when in response to his liberal offers, the House sent in a reply dealing only with some of these, to him, minor matters.

His financial circumstances were such that he could not give away too many of his perquisites, for the expenses of government which fell upon him were in excess of his total receipts. Hence, some of these matters were left undetermined and afforded

grounds of difference. All might, however, have been happily adjusted had he remained in the country or sent a judicious deputy. But, after the death of Andrew Hamilton, whom he first appointed, he sent over a vigorous, but not very judicious, man in the person of John Evans.

Logan and other of Penn's best friends rallied around him, but Lloyd was in popular control, and for three years (1702-1705) as Speaker of the Assembly, he ruled the Province with a high hand, finding abundant causes to quarrel with the Governor and Council and using them to the best advantage.

The matter culminated in a list of grievances to be sent by the House to William Penn in England. This document had a remarkable history, and was a source of contention for years to come.

In the first place it was not addressed to Penn directly, but to certain English Friends, who were more or less inimical to him. By a strange series of accidents, the boat carrying it was captured by a privateer and taken to France, and the bearer made a prisoner. He disclosed his package to a brother prisoner, who begged it of him, and, being a friend of Penn, forwarded it to the man from whom Lloyd meant to keep it till it had done its work secretly among the enemies of the Proprietary.

Equally irregular was the method of its passage through the House. It was brought up just at the close of a session of the Assembly in August, 1704, when it was too late to write it out in full and have it formally passed upon. The heads were drawn up and a committee was authorized to phrase them properly and forward the product—at least so the minutes say; but Logan tells us, and his word is supported by Isaac Norris, that the statement was seen by two men only, David Lloyd and Griffith Jones; that the minute giving the matter over to a committee was interpolated after the adjournment, and that it was signed by David Lloyd as Speaker after his term had expired.

The heads agreed upon by the Assembly related to certain charges against Penn relating to the failure to perform his duty as Proprietary according to his own Charter and agreements. He had instructed his Deputy to issue writs for election when the

House had a right to assemble according to its own adjournment. He had obtained money to secure the ratification of laws in England, especially those giving relief to Friends in the matter of oaths, but had not accomplished the purpose. His surveyors of land had been inefficient or worse. He had commissioned the Judges and they were devoted to his own interests as against those of the people.

The remonstrance was accompanied by a letter from David Lloyd which was even more a bitter pill for the Proprietary. It told these unfriendly men "how we have been abused by trusting William Penn," and emphasized the disadvantage to the Province brought upon it by "the revels and disorders of young William Penn and his gang of loose fellows."

It is not a matter of wonder that William Penn who was never expected to see this epistle did not feel pleasantly towards the writer in the succeeding years, and that he was quite willing to believe the damaging stories of him in Logan's letters.

But Lloyd had overreached himself. The Assembly chosen in the fall of 1705 was of a different sort. There was a strong reaction in favor of Penn and Logan. David Lloyd was defeated for election in Philadelphia County, which he had previously represented, but got in from the city. He lost the Speakership, and the Assembly, dropping the quarrels of the past, devoted its time to useful legislation.

Now was the time when a good Governor could have kept the temper of the people sweet and at the same time resisted unjust claims against the Proprietary. But they had anything but a good Governor. By a series of inexplicable follies, he threw away all his advantages. He prosecuted an old member of the Assembly, William Biles, for saying outside the House, "The Governor is but a boy; we'll kick him out." He attempted to discredit Friends' testimony against war by raising a false report of the approach of a French fleet and calling on every one to arm, hoping that the Friends would thus compromise themselves. Instead of which they went to meeting. He built a fort at New Castle, and attempted to extort "powder money" illegally from owners of ships who were mostly of his own party.

In addition, he was irregular in his own life, joined with young Penn in his revels, and bore no good name in a community of strict Quakers. His own friends had to apologize for him, and Logan finally advised the recall, but as a result again Lloyd was triumphant. In 1706 and the three following years he was elected Speaker, resisted Evans and Logan with acrimony and success, and carried the Province with him.

(To be concluded.)

EXTRACTS FROM OLD MEETING RECORDS.

[The editor is indebted to a friend for the following extracts from old meeting records. They were made by a Friend in 1844, and, though in modernized spelling, are doubtless accurate.]

Westbury Quarterly Meeting [New York.]

At a half-year's meeting on Matinicook on Long Island the 14th day of 6 mo 1684.

The necessity of John Adams being laid before this Meeting for their consideration, advice and assistance, for some speedy supply for part payment for a negro man that he hath lately bought. The meeting did appoint and desire John Bowne of Flushing, and William Richardson of Westchester to the care in behalf of the meeting, to procure a sum of money of some person on as cheap terms as they can, for the supply as aforesaid, and the meeting doth promise and engage to reimburse and pay the said sum so procured.[1]

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[1] It was just about the time of the above minute that William Burling began to raise his voice in New York Yearly Meeting against slavery, but it was not until about the middle of the eighteenth century that a query "Whether Friends are clear of importing or purchasing negroes or slaves" was adopted."—Editor.

Marriage of Thomas Lloyd and Patience Story.

At a Quarterly Meeting 27 of 10 mo 1684.

Thomas Lloyd[2] and Patience Story appeared the second time and declared their intentions of marriage (having proposed it before in a monthly meeting in New York) and Friends of Philadelphia having by a certificate declared his clearness, and their unity with him in his proceeding, all things being thus clear, Friends left them to their own time for the consummation of their intended marriage.

Philadelphia 2nd of 10 mo.

From Our Quarterly Meeting.

Dear Friends, brethren and sisters, In the dear love [of the gospel] we salute you, and acquaint you, that our dear and well beloved friend in the holy faith of Jesus Christ, Thomas Lloyd, this day [at] our Quarterly Meeting the second time laid his intentions of marriage with Patience Story of New York, before us, and we had near and dear unity with him, and his lovely deportment and tenderness did greatly affect us; and we have unity with his said intentions, for some of us knows the aforesaid Patience, and have good unity with her in her place and service to God and his people, and we are fully satisfied of his clearness from all others as to entanglements or engagement in relation to marriage, and the Lord bless them and make them a blessing to many in their generation, and he hath in his place here lived honorably and done worthily, and he may proceed in the order of truth, for the accomplishment of the aforesaid intentions, and so in God's fear we wish them well, and salute you all dearly there away, and rest your friends in the truth.

To the meeting of Friends in New York, whether monthly or quarterly.

[Signed by eighteen men and seven women.]

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[2] "Thomas Lloyd, of Dolobran, third son of Charles, was born 17 February, 1640, and died in Pennsylvania 10 September, 1694. He married first 9 September, 1665, Mary, daughter of Roger Jones, of Welshpool, Montgomeryshire, Wales, and secondly, Patience Gardiner, widow unto Robert Story: and by his first wife, who died in 1680, he had ten children."—Glenn, "Merion in the Welsh Tract," pages 341, 342.

Selling of Drink; Marriage out of Meeting.

The 7th of the 2nd month 1687.

At a monthly meeting at John Bowne's in Flushing it was thought meet and agreed upon by Friends to appoint John Way, and Daniel Patrick to go to Wm. Noble to speak to him concerning selling of drink and to bring in to the next Quarterly or Monthly meeting what he saith.

. . . . . .

Hester Townsend formerly Hester Smith, her answer confirming her disorderly[3] marriage being brought to this meeting by Mary Willits, in which the said Hester doth justify such marriage to Friends' grief, notwithstanding friends with bowels of compassion and great tenderness to such as are weak, did wait with hope that God would grant her repentance on that—Mary Cooper is desired, with Martha Titus, to speak with Hester Townsend that was Hester Smith, and endeavor to bring her to a sense of her condition.

12 mo 9, 1693

At a Quarterly Meeting Martha Titus having spoken with Hester Townsend could not receive any satisfactory answer, therefore friends have desired Edmund Titus and Nathaniel Bowne to go again to Hester Townsend and endeavor to bring her to a sense of her condition and return her answer to the next Quarterly Meeting.

26 of 3 mo 1694.

The matter concerning H. T.'s disorderly marriage and charging it upon the Lord, being this day farther spoken to, friends have delayed farther proceedings in the matter, upon the request of Daniel Kirkpatrick, saying he had it in his mind in tenderness to visit her once more.

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[3] "Disorderly" has the technical meaning of "not in accordance with the established order of Friends;" not the common meaning of lawless or unruly.—Editor.

25 of 6 mo 1694.

The matter concerning H. T.'s disorderly marriage being spoken to, friends have drawn up a paper in order to condemn the same, which said paper is committed to Mary Willits, Mary Cooper, and Martha Titus to shew it to said Hester, in order that she may sign the same, and [be] restored into [unity] with friends, and to bring her said answer and the paper to the next Quarterly Meeting.

22 of 12 mo 1694

Friends who are fully satisfied by the spirit of truth which is of God, hath signed a testimony against Hester Townsend's disorderly spirit and practice in relation to her disorderly marriage.[4]

Extracts from Rhode Island Minutes.

The "visitors" mentioned in the following Minute were equivalent to our "representatives." The word "representatives" was substituted for "visitors" about 1754. It was customary for the clerk to call on the visitors from the subordinate meetings to give a little narrative of the condition of things amongst them. These narratives were sometimes very quaint and amusing.

10 mo 1715.

The visitors from Newport desired to know the mind of the meeting whether it is agreeable to truth for Friends to brand or burn their servants or slaves on the cheek with a letter, the which this meeting are unanimous of the mind that no Friend ought to do it, but cautioned to forbear doing it in future.

The first person who appeared on the records of Rhode Island Monthly Meeting as being under dealings for importing slaves was Peleg Thurston in 6 mo 1750, but the next monthly meeting he made full satisfaction, and his acknowledgement was accepted.

[4] No doubt the paper, as usual at that time and later, required the said Hester Townsend to condemn her marriage, which she refused to do. That the meeting acted with deliberation is shown by the fact that the case was before it for over a year.

In 1750 Friends built a steeple[5] to the meeting house in Newport. The following minute refers to it:

3 mo 4 1750.

Thomas Cornell and Jacob Mott, the visitors of Newport acquainted this meeting that some friends were not satisfied with the lanthorn in the new meeting house. Friends having much debate in love and condescention one to another, have left the matter.

The steeple was after many years taken off of the meeting house, and used as a shoemaker's shop.

At a monthly meeting held at Falmouth the 2nd day of the 11 mo 1673.

Friends having met together in the fear of the Lord, found all things well, and in order, and so departed in love, giving God the glory, who is blessed forever.

9 mo 2 1688.

It is ordered that the Friends appointed in every particular meeting shall give notice publicly in the meetings that *cross pockets* before, in men's coats, wide sloped, broad hems on cravats, and *over-full skirted coats* are not allowed by Friends.

18 of 5 mo 1693, Minute 7.

Upon a query offered to the quarterly meeting, concerning friends making, ordering, or selling striped cloths, silks and stuffs, or any sort of flowered or figured things of different colours; it is the judgment of the Quarterly Meeting that Friends ought to stand clear of such things.

17 of 5 mo. 10 Minute.

Ordered that friends in their particular meetings make in-

[5] This was probably a cupola with a pointed roof, known at that time as a "lantern" or "lanthorn," rather than a steeple in the ordinary sense of the word. There was one on the meeting-house at Burlington, N. J.—EDITOR.

quiry if there be any that are in the use of periwigs extravagantly or unnecessarily large.[6]

Rhode Island Meeting 1712.

John Hedley and David Greene are appointed by this meeting to take care and provide as much beer or cider and bread and cheese, as may be useful for friends' refreshment in the time of the Yearly Meeting, and to provide a suitable room for that use, with a suitable person to attend the service, and bring their account to next meeting.

A BUNDLE OF OLD BILLS AND WHAT THEY TELL.

There lies before the writer a bundle of receipted bills, etc., which belonged to John Reynell, Treasurer of the "Yearly Meeting of Friends of Pennsylvania and New Jersey" in the eighteenth century. They range from 1755 to 1783, thus covering the whole of the Revolutionary War. These particular accounts relate almost wholly to the printing ordered and executed under the direction of the Meeting for Sufferings, and they incidentally show how active the Friends of that day were in circulating literature relating to the Society. The first reads:

Yearly Meeting of Friends held at Philadelphia

To Joseph Crukshank Dr.

9mo 7, 1769

To printing 2000 Epistles from the Meeting for Sufferings £4.0.0

At a Meeting for Sufferings 10 mo. 19-1769 John Reynell is desired to pay the above Acct. & charge it to the Yearly meeting stock. Jam^{s} Pemberton Clk. this time.

[6] This movement probably reached its height about the middle of the eighteenth century. In 1722, the Minutes of Sandwich Meeting record that "Friends should not wear periwigs," and in 1761 gravestones were ordered removed.—EDITOR.

Joseph Crukshank's name appears on most of the Friends' books and publications from 1764 to 1824. He was a Friend, and his work was excellent.

The special object of the Epistle does not appear in the bill, and the paper is not noted in Smith's Catalogue of Friends' Books. The records of the meeting would, of course, tell.

Number 2 is a small piece of paper, and the writing is beautifully clear, it is as follows:

1770 Money remaining due to Isaac Collins for a num-
11mo 12th ber of Sewell's History as ffollows

Ballance Due from New Garden,	£17.5.
& from Bush River	.15
	£18, " "

Isaac Collins, the ancestor of numerous Collinses of the present day, was one of the best printers of his day. He lived many years in Burlington, New Jersey, and his folio edition of Sewel's *History of the Quakers* is a delight to the eye. He had an office in Philadelphia 1769-1770. He established the first newspaper in New Jersey—the *New Jersey Gazette*—December 5, 1777, and it was continued until November 27, 1786. In his prospectus he promised to " reject any Proposition to make his Paper a Vehicle for the dark Purposes of private Malice by propogating Calumnies against Individuals, wounding the Peace of Families and inflaming the Minds of Men with Bitterness and Rancour against one another." Isaac Collins was a supporter of American Independence.

Bill number 3 is interesting, and much could be said about the printer, his work, and the special edition of the book he printed.

The Yearly Meeting of Friends Pennsylvania and New Jersey to Christ[r] Sower Dr.

To printing Barclay's Apologie, according to agreement, viz: One Thousand Books	£268.17. 6
Extraordinary Expences, for the uncommon Price of Paper	17.11.10
	£286. 9. 4

Germantown 9[mo] 19[th] Dy 1776

The Friends Credit

For three Sheets I had calculated too many	£14.11.10
The printers Mite towards the Work	3. 0. 0
	£17.11.10
Ballance due to the printer	268.17. 6
	£286. 9. 4

Errors excepted Christ[r] Sower Jun[r].

N. B. The Printer charges nothing for comparing the several Amendments, Sizing the Paper after printed & other Extraordinary Troubles other Printers know nothing of.

Another account appears to refer to the same edition, though dated nearly four years later. It is number 4, and reads:

4. March ye 19[th], 1777

I delivered to Christopher Sower Junior 61 Apologies, and 4 to Anthony Benezat and now I deliver 74 in all 139 at 3/6 pr. piece which amounts 24. 6. 6

The 8[th] April 1780 John Weaver.

Deduct from the above amount 6[d] pr book 3. 9. 6

£20.17. 0

Please to pay John Weaver Twenty Pounds seventeen shillings what appears due on the above acct.

10 mo 17, 1780
John Pemberton
Anthony Benezet

To John Reynell.

Apparently John Weaver, from some cause, had to wait more than three years for his money.

This edition of Barclay's *Apology* is a very close reprint of the London German edition of 1740. Sower's edition surpasses the London book in typography.

It is said that most of the edition was seized and used for cartridges or wadding in guns and cannon during the Revolution. At any rate copies of the edition are by no means often met with.

The fact that the edition was issued at all indicates that there was a relatively large German population in the State.

The names signed to the order are in the autographs of the signers, that of Anthony Benezet being in his clear, characteristic handwriting.

No. 5

Yearly Meeting of Pensylv[a]
and New Jersey

To John Blake Dr.

1776

10 mo 21. To transcribing 10 Copies of the Extracts from the minutes of said meeting @ 7/6 ea. £3.15.—

This document is beautifully written in handwriting evidently that of a professional. For many years Extracts from the Minutes of the Yearly Meeting were copied and sent down to the subordinate meetings to be read. It was not until about 1840 that the Extracts were printed. Many of the manuscript copies are still in existence.

No. 6.

Mr. Peter Miller
To Henry Miller Dr

To 2000 Copies of a Testimony given forth by the Friends at their yearly Meeting the 29th Day of the Ninth Month, 1777 £4.0.0

Philad[a] Oct[r] 8: 1777
Rec'd the full Contents for
Henry Miller per me
Elizabeth Lehman

Why this printing was not done by Crukshank does not appear,[1] though it was doubtless due to the British being in possession of Philadelphia. The full title of the document is "A Testimony from the Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia against groundless insinuations respecting Friends and some malicious Papers which had been circulated." This doubtless refers to the charges made against Friends and the seizure and arbitrary banishment of seventeen Friends to Winchester, Virginia, for alleged aid to the Royalist cause.[2]

No. 7. Anthony Benezet Debtor

1777
9th mo. 10th. To George Reinholdt to half binding

48	Books by W[m] Penn	@ 1/8pce	£2. 8.
35	do	@ 1/3	2. 3. 9
	To cost bound by another hand		£4.11. 9
27	do	@ 1/pce	1. 7.
110			£5.18. 9

[1] Peter Miller was one of Philadelphia's printers, and Henry Miller, probably the Henry Miller of the bill, was a printer of Lancaster as well as of Philadelphia. It is, therefore, not unlikely that the printing was executed at Lancaster.

[2] See Sharpless.—R. M. Jones' "Quakers in the American Colonies, p. 566.

The binder evidently did not know to whom the work should be charged, for the name is inserted in Anthony Benezet's own autograph.

The "books by W^m Penn" were doubtless some in sheets.

The following bill should be read in connection with No. 6. It relates to the defense of the Friends banished to Winchester:[3]

No. 8. At a Monthly Meeting for Sufferings held the 16th 4 Mo 1778

The Treasurer when in Cash is desired to pay unto Christopher Sower junr and Peter Sower the Sum of forty four Pounds Sixteen Shillings & three Pence for translating printing and binding 2000 Pamphlets in German, wrote by our Friends lately banished from this City

Extracted from the Minutes
by Nicholas Waln Clerk

£44. 16. 3.

The last account to be presented is for a very different kind of service, and shows clearly how habits and customs have changed in the century and a half that has elapsed.

Meeting House		To Sarah Cramer		Dr.
1755				
4 mo 1	To 1 Gallon Rum		4.4	
2	To 1 do		4.4	
3	To 1 do 4/4—4th to 2 do 4/4		13.	
17	To ½ do 19th to 1 do 4/4		6.6	
25	To 2½ do 4/4 29th to 2½ do 4/4		1. 1.8	2.10.10
5 mo 3	To 3 do 4/4 7th to 3 do 3/8		1. 4.	
14	To 3 do 3/8 15th to 3 beer 1/		14.	
16	To 2 do beer 20th to 3 do Rum 3/8		13.	
30	To 3 do Rum 3/8		11.	

[3] See the *Bulletin*, third month, 1908, vol. ii, pages 25-27, for two letters from these exiles.

6 mo 7	To 3	do 3/8 21st to 5½ do 3/8	1.11.2	
23	To 3	do 3/8 & 1 doz bread	14.0	5. 7. 2
7 mo 11	To 1	do 3/8 & 1 doz do	6.8	
16	To 1	do 3/8 30th to 1 Gal Rum	7.4	
8 mo 25	To 1	do 3/8	3.8	
9 mo 3	To 1	do 3/8 5th to 1 do 3/8	7.4	
9	To 2	do 3/8 16th to 1 do 3/8	11.	
19	To 1	do 3/8 20th to 1 do 3/8	7.4	2. 3. 4
				£10. 0. 4

Examined & found ct. pr. Jacob Shoemaker, jun.
Jos. Marriott.

There is scarcely a doubt that the rum, etc., mentioned in the above bill was used, either during the pulling down of the "Great Meeting House" on the corner of Second and High (Market) Streets or during the erection of the "Greater Meeting House" on the same site, 1755. The last-named building was pulled down in 1812, and part of the material was used in constructing Twelfth Street Meeting House, whose centennial was celebrated in 1912.

LETTER OF REBECCA JONES, 1772.

[The following letter is from the Howland Collection of Papers, Haverford College. The mention of the movements of American Friends in England is interesting, particularly the statement that "John Woolman was going Northward." This was his journey to York, where he died Tenth month 7, 1772.]

The writer, Rebecca Jones, was one of the best-known Philadelphia Friends of her day.[1] (See Notes and Queries in the present number of the BULLETIN (p. 72) for notes on this letter.)

[1] Memorials of Rebecca Jones, compiled by William J. Allinson. Second edition with Appendix, Philadelphia, 1849. Rebecca Jones was born 1739 and died 1818.

Philadelphia 9th mo 21st 1772.

Beloved friend
Elizth Smith

The Occasion of my writing at present, is to cover the enclosed, which we this Day received, and to give thee what Intelligency I can of our American Frds. on the English shore. Debby Morris has wrote a few lines to my Partner & self, just to inform of her own and Aunt's Welfare, and to excuse herself from writing to her Frds. here, her Time being so much taken up with her Worthy Aunt, who seems devoted to her grt. Master's Work—dated 7th mo. 9th.

Sammy Emlen writes to his Wife, also to Margt. Haines, informing that He with William Hunt & Companion were near going to Holland. S. M. & Debby were at Norwich at Jos. Oxley's, Jno. Woolman was going Northward, and Robt. Willis was gone to Ireland. Also that Cathne Payton was to change her name to Philips the 16th of 7 mo last.

I think of thee often, and that with increasing Affection & Sympathy; yet am Comforted on thy Acct. in full Persuasion that he who hath mercifully been thy "Morning Light" will sustain in & thro' all, and in the "Evening" be thy joyful "Song."

Farewell my Dear frd. My Companion joins me in Love to thee.

I am thy Affectionate frd.

Rebecca Jones.

CARTING QUAKERS TO PRISON.

[The following account is taken from "Extracts from State Papers Relating to Friends, Fourth Series, 1913," pp. 332, 333. See Book Notices in this number.]

[Address] These ffor Joseph Williamson Esqur at ye Lord Arlingtons Whitehall.

[Endorsed] Yarmouth R. 7 Aug. 1671 Mr Bower.

Sr

Sunday last there was a Quakers meeting at Paikefeid in Suffolke about seauen miles from this Towne, wch the Cheife

Constable being informed of, takeing Some assistance wth him went to disperse, So many as he Knew he tooke their names, the rest being in number 11 refused to give him there names vpon wch he Sett a guard upon them & went to Sr Thomas Meddowes for a warrant to bring them before him, at his returne he Shewed them his warrant & required them to goe wth him, they told him no, for the warrant required him to bring them before the Justice & therefore they would not goe vpon wch the Constable gott a Cart, but they not being free to goe in of themselues the Constable with his assistance was forst to put them in, the first that were put in were so cross that they would lye at theire length So yt they could not Stow halfe of them where vpon the Carter laid them one vpon an othr, but this not being for theire ease they then Sett vp, being brought to ye doore where the Justice was, they could not pswade them to come out of ye Cart, vpon wch the Carter cast of the belly band of the ffiller,[1] lifted up the tibbs[2] of ye Cart & so threw them out altogether at ye Carts arse,[3] wch So cooled theire Courage yt coming before Sr Thomas they all gaue in theire names & were dismist for ye psent[4] not else but yt I am

Sr yo'r humble Serut
RICH. BOWER.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM JAMES BRINGHURST, OF PHILADELPHIA, TO ELIZ^th^ COGGESHALL, IN LONDON.

In the first number of this BULLETIN there is some consideration of the question whether John Dickinson, of Revolutionary fame, was a member of the Society of Friends. It is pretty evident that through his later life he was not a member, though diligently an attender of meetings, and a founder of Westtown

[1] *Ffiller*, or *filler*, the horse between the shafts.

[2] *Tibbs*, the extreme end of the cart.

[3] *Arse*, the rear of the cart.

[4] Another instance of Friends being carted to jail is given in Cambridge Journal [George Fox's Journal, Cambridge edition, 1911] vol. ii, 14. [See Notes and Queries in this number of the BULLETIN].

School. His education and early life were not Friendly. He married Mary Norris (who was a Friend), but not by Friendly order. He was a soldier through the war. If his wife was disowned, she got back into membership. His children were Friends. Possibly one of his parents was not a member and thus he had no birthright, but there seem to be no records to prove this.

The following interesting letter which is among the records of Devonshire House, London, was this summer transcribed, and gives more light upon his later life in this respect than anything else published, so far as I know. I. S.

"A great change has taken place in John Dickinson altho not yet in Membership with F^rds^, it plainly shews what the powerful operation of Divine Grace has done for him, who was once in almost the highest applause & popularity of Mankind as to worldly things, having been a great Lawyer, a Politician, a Governor of Pensilvania, & any station he seemed to chuse—having been the Author of what's called the *Farmer's letters* some years past, & now I believe him to be the improving Christian, he has so far taken up the cross as to use the plain language to all, & is a diligent attender of our religious meetings, I had been intimately acquainted with him & therefore took the liberty to lay before him in a letter I wrote a few weeks past, the use & benefit his influence might probably have if he could feel it right to exert it with G. Washington, & some others in high stations on behalf of the poor Black people detained in Bondage.—of his own Negroes he set a number free, in which I was informed he gave up to the amount of between eight & ten thousand pounds, respecting that & some other matters he gave me some account last spring about a week before I left home to come here.—I went to Willmington to see a Son of mine, who is settled there, when J. Dickinson was very pressing with me to spend some time with him at his house, which is large & comodious & pleasently situated in that Town, where he lives as a private Gentleman, he possesses vast property & therefore it is in his power to do much good with it wherein I believe he is good to the poor, I staid longer than I had intended on purpose from his solicitation & spent part of two days with him, when he was very free & open in conversation, one

part of which I may have room to mention—in speaking of the difference between his former & present manner of Life, he told me his daughter had been his instructor he has two children who are daughters lately grown up, no Son, he said, when he lived in Philadelphia, he wished his eldest then to learn dancing & proposed it to her, offering to have a master come to teach her,—at which she made some hesitation, he then desired her to go into her chamber & set an hour or two alone to consider of it & then give him an answer. She went as he bid her & when she returned to him again, her answer was, 'if Father pleases I had much rather be a Friend' which altho' somewhat mortifying to him at that time he gave up to, that with some other parts of her conduct put him upon closer thinking of the cause. She is a fine young woman of superior understanding, just growing up into the prime of life with every opportunity of indulgence that's apt to be pleasing to young minds, thus to deny herself of those things, it so powerfully struck his mind as gradually with other feelings he experienced to effect a change in him who was in great exaltation as to worldly Eminence.—I thought this short acc^{t} might be agreeable to you both to see, far short it is, to what I could have wrote respecting the conversation we had, but I thought this enough to insert in this letter, I wish this part of it not to be much seen by others, as I should not like any of it as wrote by me, should come to his knowledge—that respecting his negroes he told me if some who held such knew of, perhaps it might be an encouragement to them to set theirs free, tho' I dont wish that to be mention'd neither from me,—he said he became uneasy in his mind about his, & therefore thought to accommodate the matter to himself & them also, & therefore order'd a number of huts to be built for their better living on the Plantations, & several other ways endeavor'd to render a state of slavery easy to them, but after all this he found his mind disturbed on their acc^{t}, & at last determin'd to set them at liberty, & wrote a manumission for the whole of them, immediately after which he told me he had a peaceful easy mind, & everything seemed to prosper in his hands, & to crown all, his Income was abundantly increased contrary to his expectation."

Dated Tiverton Rhode Iland 8th of 10th mo 1799.

JOHN WOOLMAN'S JOURNAL.

It will doubtless be of much interest to readers of the BULLETIN to learn that three manuscripts of the famous *Journal* of John Woolman are now accessible to the student of that remarkable man. Some surprise has been expressed at the existence of so many originals all holograph, but investigation shows that they are all genuine, and a testimony to the careful and conscientious spirit of the author.

The two earliest are at Swarthmore College, where they have been deposited by Mrs. George Dudley, a direct descendant of Woolman. *MS. No. 1* is a small unbound quarto of forty pages, consisting of the rough draft to the year 1747. *No. 2* is a thicker MS., on the same size sheet, into which the first has been copied. It is carried down to the year 1770. The same college library also has the little paper-covered pocket blank-book in which is recorded the five-weeks ocean voyage in 1772, as well as several valuable letters from John Woolman to members of his family and others.

To the Historical Society of Pennsylvania has been given the leather-bound folio *MS. No. 3*, made by Woolman as a fair copy containing his marginal directions for the printer. It has come down through Major Samuel Comfort of New York, grandson in the fifth generation from John Woolman through his daughter Mary, who married John Comfort. This MS. was the one used by the Publication Committee for the first edition of 1774, and bears evidence of the severity of the editing in the handwriting of Samuel Comfort, the author's grandson, who was one of that committee. Two of Woolman's private account books, his marriage certificate and that of his daughter, the text of portions of his essays, and letters to his family accompany this folio.

Many editions of Woolman's *Journal* have been published, several of them very recently, but not since 1837 has there been any attempt to collate the printed copy with the original. This was last done by John Comly in the edition printed in the above year, and even he followed the daring omissions and questionable

corrections of the original editors, who omitted two dreams, a half page on inoculation, the only case where Woolman was visited by the sheriff, and many minor paragraphs. One edition omits an entire chapter! The most regrettable change is in the smoothing down of the singularly vigorous and simple Saxon phraseology of Woolman into commonplace, and this liberty has been taken throughout the volume. Woolman has indicated with perfect clearness what are his wishes as to omissions. The fact, for instance, that his childhood's dream at the age of nine years has been copied by himself in all three volumes certainly indicates his intention of printing it.

The Friends' Historical Society proposes to publish a final edition of the *Journal,* which will be faithful to the original, accompanied by biographical notes of each person named in the text. Letters and manuscripts of Woolman are very rare, and any one who owns or knows of the existence of such will perform a real service to the Society in its effort to set forth the work with accuracy, by communicating with

Amelia M. Gummere,
Haverford, Penna.

BOOKS, ETC., RECENTLY ISSUED, AND OF INTEREST TO FRIENDS.

The Quakers in Great Britain and America. The Religious and Political History of the Society of Friends from the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Century. Two volumes in one. By Charles Frederick Holder, LL.D. Author of *The Pioneer Quakers, The Life of Agassiz,* etc. The Neuner Company, New York, Los Angeles, London, 1913. 8vo. 669 pp. $6.00 net.

The author of this portly volume states in his Preface that he has attempted to supply the need for "a popularly-written, well-illustrated, condensed history of Quakerism as a whole, from the birth of George Fox to approximately 1913, in one volume." It is scarcely possible to call a volume of 669 pages "a condensed history," but that misnomer could be overlooked, had not the volume serious faults. It is diffuse, has little continuity, and the narrative is interrupted by many digressions, especially relating to personal or family matters. Indeed, one is led to think that to give honor to the author's ancestors is one of the chief objects of the work.[1]

With the best intentions possible, the author has failed to produce either a clear or accurate picture of the character or the history of Quakerism. In the chapter on "Mary Dyer and Her Friends," he gives an account of the separation of 1827, of the Gurney difficulties, and the establishment of New England Yearly Meeting. This is simply one example of the lack of continuity. The book abounds in errors. He says, "The emphasis placed upon worldly matters and attire by George Fox resulted gradually in the assuming of what was practically a uniform as pronounced as that of his Lordship the Bishop of London to-day" (p. 242). He states that Sir Theodore Fry, Sir Edward Fry, and the M.P. "Mr. Louis [Lewis] Fry" were descendants of Elizabeth Fry (p. 270), whereas their father was but a cousin of her husband. Rufus M. Jones is not the *son* of Eli and Sybil Jones (p. 457), but their nephew; neither has he written the life of George Fox (p. 618). We are sure that much as the Library owes to our friend Norman Penney, he would disclaim the statement that the Library at Devonshire House "has been collected under the diligent and intelligent direction of Norman Penney." It is certainly new to most students of Quaker history that "The American Friends for seven years made every effort to induce London Yearly Meeting to 'silence' Gurney, but without avail" (p. 455). Jeremy Taylor is called "an intense Papist and follower of Laud" (p. 234); a more incorrect statement it would be hard to find. Again, "The Quakers were

[1] The reviewer counted 136 places where Christopher Holder is mentioned by name.

the first we have seen to allow women to speak in meetings" (p. 127). There are also not a few sentences of which it is difficult to catch the meaning, such as: "Elizabeth Fry stands as the embodiment of the best type of the Quaker, a replica of hundreds of women in England and America who lent dignity and charm to the Quaker Society" (p. 247). Or, on the same page, "In these passing years came the Independence of the Colonies, the French Revolution, the establishment of the Women's Friends' Yearly Meeting, the war with France, and the wars against France and Napoleon, 1803-15, the introduction of the great reform bill, in nearly all of which the Quakers had a share or were influenced," etc.

The number of typographical errors or of wrong spelling is great, the reviewer counted page after page with one or more on each page. This is particularly true of proper names, "Macauley" many times, "Eminott" for Emmott (p. 233), "Jordon" for Jordan (p. 240), "Redding" for Reading (p. 270), "Tange" for Tangye (p. 271), "Oberend" for Overend (Ib.), "Rivere" for Riviera (Ib.), "Ditchle" for Ditch (p. 283), "Foothergill" for Fothergill (p. 621), "Scathergood" for Scattergood (Ib.), "Eaton" for Eutaw (p. 622), "John" for Joan (Ib.), "Edmond" for Edmund (Ib.), "1898" for 1908 (p. 632), "Mufflin" for Mifflin (p. 634), "William" for James (Ib.), "Hill" for "Spring" (p. 636), "South" for North (p. 637), "Case" for Chase (p. 640), and many others.

No one would wish to detract from the credit due Mrs. Russell Sage for her many benefactions, but it is difficult to see what place an account of her philanthropies (Chapter XIV) should hold in a history of the Quakers. The author seems to think the fact she is "a fourth great granddaughter of Christopher Holder, a lineal descendant of the Quaker Governor Wanton, of Rhode Island, and of Peleg Slocum, the pioneer Quaker minister" (p. 317) is sufficient. Few, we think, would share his opinion. The chapter is wholly out of place.

The author has also been unfortunate in some of his illustrations. "Louis IV," facing p. 141, should be Louis XIV; "William Penn," facing p. 169, is not "William Penn as a young man," but some one else; the titles to the views facing p. 237 are misleading, and give the impression that Christopher Holder was buried at "Swarthmore"; in the group of portraits facing p. 258 the portraits of Isaac Braithwaite and his son Joseph Bevan are transposed: Isaac Braithwaite should be in the upper row (No. 1); the illustrations facing pages 317, 338, 339 have nothing to do with Quakers.

It has not been pleasant to write thus of the work under review; but when a book making such claims as this contains so much error of various kinds, it seems needful to point out at some length to the unknowing or the unwary reader or student the danger of accepting its statements as authoritative. It is to be regretted that so much time and

so much labor as have evidently been bestowed upon the work should not have resulted in accuracy of statement and presentation.

Social Service, Its Place in the Society of Friends. By Joshua Rowntree. Headley Brothers, Bishopsgate, London, E.C. 1913. 16mo. 127 pp. One shilling.

This is the sixth "Swarthmore Lecture." The subject is a good one, and the author a veteran in service. The lecture is a long one, and read at leisure well repays perusal. There are many passages of extreme interest, but, as a whole, it is somewhat lacking in continuity. There are so many references to Quaker activities, past and present, that it is to be regretted there is no index.

Margaret Fox of Swarthmoor Hall. By Helen G. Crosfield. London: Headley Brothers, Bishopsgate, E.C. [1913]. 8vo. pp. viii, 272. 3 shillings 6 pence. [With four illustrations and a map.]

This handsome volume will, no doubt, receive a warm welcome. No such extended account of Margaret (Fell) Fox has previously appeared, for her life only takes up a part of Maria Webb's excellent *Fells of Swarthmoor Hall.* This biography is based on original documents, many of them never before used. The number of letters reprinted is large, and they, with other documents, throw much new light, not only upon the life of Margaret (Fell) Fox and the family at Swarthmoor Hall, but upon the early history of Friends. The book should be widely read by Friends.

Extracts from State Papers Relating to Friends. Fourth Series, 1669 to 1672. Edited by Norman Penney, F.S.A., F.R. Hist. S., etc. With Introduction by R. A. Roberts, F.R. Hist. S., etc. London, Headley Brothers, Bishopsgate, E.C., etc. 1913.

This is the fourth and concluding number of Extracts from the British State Papers, 1654-1672, which relate to Friends. The previous numbers have been noticed as issued. They are of great value as giving "the other side" of the persecutions and trials which were inflicted upon the early Friends. Reproduced in the exact spelling and form of the originals, and carefully annotated when needful, the volume forms "a source-book" of great value to the student of early Quakerism. With this number come the Title Page and Tables of Contents for the whole volume, and an Index of Names for this part, similar to those for Parts I-III. It is to be hoped that another series will be prepared, at least for the succeeding years of the seventeenth century.

Selections from the Diary and Correspondence of Joseph S. Elkinton, 1830-1905. Printed for private distribution. Philadelphia. 1913. 12mo. xvi, 512 pp.

This volume contains the record of the life of one who belonged to a type of Friend that is becoming rare. The influence of Joseph S. Elkinton was in personal rather than public service, and the account reveals a vast amount of unselfish, earnest, untiring labor for the good of others.

The Everyman Encyclopædia. London: J. M. Dent & Sons; New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1 shilling in England; 35 cents in United States. 1912-1913. Vols. 1-8.

This new popular encyclopædia, now being issued as part of the well-known Everyman's Library, will doubtless have a very large sale. A number of tests of the eight volumes already published have been generally satisfactory, sometimes unexpectedly so. Not many articles relating to Friends have appeared, but they have generally been reasonably correct. Such are George Fox, Elizabeth Fry, Joseph John Gurney and John Bright. That on the "Friends," while fairly accurate in the main, has a serious error in the reference to the Separation of 1827-1828, where it is said: "The followers of Hicks are far the more numerous" (Vol. VI, p. 299).

Welsh Settlement of Pennsylvania. By Charles H. Browning. Philadelphia: William J. Campbell. 1912. 8mo. 631 pp. Illustrated.

There is a great lack of definite, accurate information concerning the Welsh settlers in Pennsylvania, and the publication of this handsome volume raised expectations which have not been realized. The author has not put his material together with skill, he is diffuse, and is lacking in that discernment so necessary to an investigator and an historian. Had his work been confined to the printing of documents and other historical matter and to comments upon them, it would have been far better. To write and comment upon Friends needs special knowledge which few possess. Indeed, it is almost impossible for an "outsider" to avoid making serious slips, not to say errors.

It seems odd to read of "the tenets and teachings of the learned [!] apostle of Quakerism, George Fox" (p. 23), and to have him referred to frequently as "Mr. Fox." It is, however, the treatment of William Penn which, it is hardly too much to say, will vitiate the book in the minds of Friends and injure it in the view of all careful students. The author has apparently believed all the charges made by Macaulay and others, and is quite ignorant of the unanswerable vindications of Penn by Paget, Forster, and others. In addition to erroneous statements, he

uses a jocular tone which ill befits his subject or the claims made for his volume. For instance, he writes: "While Penn may have been sometimes a good Quaker, he certainly 'put on airs,' and was at first a stickler for style and pomp he supposed due his exalted position as a minor monarch" (p. 327). Penn is a "pardon broker" (p. 407). "He allowed himself to be used by the Brethern [sic] of the Society of Jesus to carry out their plans" (Ib.). "He was being suspected, possibly justly, of a leaning, if not conversion to Jesuitism" (p. 408). "He was placed under surveillance, because he persisted in saying James was his dearest friend and the good angel of the Friends" (p. 411). "Penn was the true son of his father, a man of spunk always" (p. 412).

There are many old documents and extracts from old records reprinted which are of much interest, but the lack of accuracy in historical statement inevitably raises some doubt as to accuracy in copying the documents and letters. In the list of "Pictures and Maps" (p. 7), line 11, "Haverford" should be omitted. The plate is taken from Sutcliff's Travels, who simply says, as given under the plate here (p. 304), "Friends going to Monthly Meeting." The meeting *may* be Abington; it is certainly not Haverford. There are a good many typographical errors.

The Life of John Bright. By George Macaulay Trevelyan. Illustrated. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin Company. 1913. 8vo. pp. x, 480. Price, $4.50.

This volume has been looked for with eagerness on the part of many. G. M. Trevelyan's charm of style, experience in writing, and the sympathetic treatment of George Fox and his followers in his "England under the Stuarts," led to a belief that this would be, as the publishers say, the "definitive biography" of John Bright. In many respects the anticipation has been realized. Accuracy, charm of style, sympathy with his subject are all here, but the personal element, except from the public point of view, is placed as much as possible in the background. This, doubtless, was inevitable from the purpose of the biography which is to present Bright as a statesman, and public character. With this limitation, there is little but praise to be given to the work. The illustrations are admirable.

The book is, of course, primarily for Englishmen, and unless the reader is tolerably familiar with English political life during the years 1840-1890, the full value of the book will not be appreciated, nor will it be as interesting. It is to be regretted that the cost in America is so great as to restrict the circulation in no small degree.

NOTES AND QUERIES

USE OF THE BIBLE AMONG EARLY FRIENDS.—The following passage is taken from Fox's *Journal*, Cambridge Edition, 1911. It is part of an account of how Fox and other Friends were seized (1662) on the charge of holding unlawful meetings. They were put in a cart and carried to Leicester. See page 59 of this number of the BULLETIN—"As wee went wee past through ye people in ye feilds att there harvest: & in ye towndes: & wee declared ye truth to you with our open bibles in our handes & ye two women they carryd wheeles one there lapps to spinn in prison: Soe we ridd through [ye country to] Leister in that manner five of us: & declared howe wee were ye prisoners of ye Lord Jesus Christ for his name & his truth sake & ye people was mightily affected." Vol. II, p. 14.

It is interesting to compare this passage with the text of the ordinary editions of the *Journal* and notice how the original was "edited."

DISCONTINUANCE OF THE FRIENDS' YEAR-BOOK.—Many will regret the decision of English Friends to discontinue the issue of the useful *Friends' Year-Book* on account of lack of pecuniary support. It will be greatly missed by some.

THE [PHILADELPHIA] FRIEND.—After being issued for eighty-six years (1828-1913), with scarcely a perceptible change in its appearance, the first number of the eighty-seventh volume (Eighth month 3, 1913) of *The Friend* (Philadelphia) appears with some alterations. The most obvious are two columns to a page instead of three, better and clearer type, more pages, and *advertisements*. In addition to these, various other changes have been made, all of which should make the paper more attractive and useful to its readers.

CENTENNIAL OF OHIO YEARLY MEETING.—The centennial of the establishment of Ohio Yearly was celebrated at Mount Pleasant, Ohio, Ninth month 1, 1913. The Minutes of Baltimore Yearly Meeting setting up the meeting were printed in the BULLETIN for Eleventh month, 1907, Vol. I, pp. 117-119.

OHIO YEARLY MEETING IN 1813.—"The Yearly Meeting was attended by about 2,000 Friends, though I am ready to conclude that the number was rather less; although some Friends suppose there were 3,000."—Extract from a letter of John Heald Ninth month 14, 1813, to Benjamin Kite. *The Friend* (Philadelphia),

Vol. 65: 311, 4th month 20, 1892; reprinted 10th month 23, 1913.

SEMI-CENTENNIAL OF IOWA YEARLY MEETING.—Iowa Yearly Meeting was set up by Indiana Yearly Meeting in 1863, and appropriate exercises in commemoration of the event were held at Oskaloosa, Ninth month 5, 1913. Charles F. Coffin, the only surviving member of the committee appointed by Indiana Yearly Meeting, was present and gave an address. It is stated that there were present some fifty persons who attended the opening of the meeting in 1863.

JOURNAL OF THE FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—The number for Tenth month, 1913, is, as usual, full of interesting matter. The longest article is one continued from the previous number of the *Journal*—"Record of Friends Travelling in Ireland 1656-1765." It occupies fifty pages, and is a remarkable record of the activities of the "Publick Friends" (Ministers). From the notes in the record it would seem that during the period covered by this installment, the ministry was largely of a warning character, and there are not a few prophecies of coming ills and sufferings. A number of Friends are recorded as coming from America, particularly from Pennsylvania.

There is also in this number of *The Journal* an interesting account of "Thomas Bennet, Schoolmaster," of the school at Pickwick, Wiltshire, England (1725?-1764). Other mostly short articles complete a good-sized number.

SWARTHMOOR HALL.—"The long negotiations with reference to Swarthmore Hall are at length concluded, and all necessary deeds and agreements are signed. The Hall may not come into the absolute possession of Friends for many years; but they have access to it now, and a board of trustees will have a voice in any contemplated alterations, and Friends may rest assured that the Hall will be well cared for by its present owner Miss Abraham of Liverpool."—*The Friend* (London), Eleventh month 14, 1913.

NOTES ON LETTER OF REBECCA JONES, PAGE 58.—Elizabeth Smith, to whom the letter was addressed, was one of the Burlington Smiths, and a valued minister. Deborah Morris, the "Debby" of the letter, was the niece and companion of Sarah Morris (died 1775), who visited England with a "Minute" in 1772. "Sammy" Emlen (1730-1799) was the remarkable Samuel Emlen, of Philadelphia, who visited England several times on religious visits. William Hunt was the father of Nathan Hunt, of whom an interesting sketch will be found in the BULLETIN, volume I, page 92 ff. His companion on this visit was his nephew, Thomas Thornburg. They reached England in 1771, and on Ninth month 9, 1772, William Hunt died of small-pox at New Castle, aged 39, just about a month before his cousin, John Woolman, died at York of the same dread disease.

Joseph Oxley (1715-1775), a prominent English Friend, visited America 1770-1771. He was in Philadelphia when Sarah Morris expressed "a concern to pay a religious visit to the churches in England." He was also present (1771) when Samuel Emlen opened "his concern to pay a religious visit to Friends in some parts of Great Britain." "Also another Friend, John Woolman, a wise, sensible man, having a good gift in the ministry and well approved of, has a concern of the like kind, more particularly to Yorkshire. I suppose the latter will hardly leave the continent till the summer" (1772).

Joseph Oxley accompanied Sarah Morris and Deborah Morris on the voyage to England (Third month 3, 1772). Of Deborah Morris he says: "She (Sarah Morris) had also a kinswoman to accompany her, and though not in the ministry, yet was exercised in spirit for the prosperity of Truth, and having near sympathy with her aunt in her present concern, gave up to attend her in her present undertaking: her name was Deborah Morris, and indeed I thought her an excellent mother raised up in our Israel." ("Journals of Pike and Oxley," London, 1837, pp. 348, 349, 384, 387).

Catherine Payton (1726-1794) was an English minister who visited America, 1753-1756, with Mary Peisley. She married William Phillips in 1772, as is stated in Rebecca Jones's letter. She began to speak in the ministry at the age of twenty-two, and was only twenty-seven when she came to America.

Robert Willis (1713(?)-1791) was a Friend from New Jersey who visited England 1770-1774. At the London Yearly Meeting of 1772 there were present from America William Hunt and Thomas Thornburg, John Woolman, Samuel Emlen, Sarah and Deborah Morris and Robert Willis, an interesting group.